

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
/066 W

-----052548 272059Z /63

R 270840Z JUN 78
FM AMCONSUL MILAN
TO AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6062
AMCONSUL TURIN UNN
AMCONSUL NAPLES UNN
AMCONSUL TRIESTE UNN
AMCONSUL GENOA UNN
AMCONSUL PALERMO UNN
AMCONSUL FLORENCE UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 0990

DELAYED TELEGRAPHIC TRANSMISSION DUE TO LACK OF CIRCUITRY

C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 0000

EO 11652: XGDS-1 DECLAS JUNE 21, 1988
TAGS: PINT IT
SUBJECT: GOLFARI ON POST-LEONE SITUATION

1. CESARE GOLFARI, LEFT WING DC, AND PRESIDENT OF LOMBARDY REGION, IS ONE OF OUR MOST THOUGHTFUL AND RELIABLE CONTACTS. LIKE REST OF "BASE"FACTION, HE HAS FAVORED INVOLVING PCI IN LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AS DEVICE TO REDUCE ITS ELECTORIAL APPEAL OR TO DOMESTICATE IT. THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE ON JUNE 17 DURING A SERIES OF INTERVIEWS TO ASSESS THE LOCAL PRECEPTION OF THE LEONE RESIGNATION THAT WILL BE REPORTED LATER. BUT DUE TO GOLFARI LOCAL IMPORTANCE, WE REPORT HIS VIEWS MORE COMPLETELY THAN POSSIBLE IN A WRAP UP.

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2. ACCORDING TO GOLFARI, PCI HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO PROVOKE LEONE RESIGNATION. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT ITS PREFERENCE SINCE IT HAD BEEN HIS STAUNCHIEST, AND OFTEN ONLY, DEFENDER. LEONE HAD REPEATEDLY CALLED ON DC TO DEFEND HIM BUT IT HAD REFUSED. THIS WAS ANOTHER PROOF THAT DC WAS WELL RUN PARTY. NOW, WHEN PCI CALLED FOR HIS RESIGNATION, IT WAS ALL OVER.

3. PCI REACHED ITS CONCLUSION, SAID GOLFARI, BECAUSE OF PSI MANEUVERING. LEFT WING, ROMANTIC COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP DID NOT WANT TO RISK PSI GAINING INITIATIVE ON TRADITIONAL LEFT ISSUE OF PUBLIC INTEGRITY. BERLINGUER AND "RATIONAL GROUP" OF LEADERSHIP OPPOSED THE MOVE, SAID GOLFARI, BUT THEY LOST AND PCI QUICKLY SEIZED INITIATIVE. GOLFARI WAS RELIEVED THAT LEONE HAD BEEN FORCED OUT SINCE THE DC WAS SPARED FURTHER EMBARRASSMENT FROM HIS OCCUPANCY OF THE PRESIDENCY* NOT THAT HE HAD BEEN IMPROPER IN HIS CONDUCT OF THE OFFICE, BUT HE HAD APPEARED IMPROPER AND WAS ASSOCIATED WITH VERY UNSAVORY COMPANIONS.

4. PCI REACTIONS TO LOCAL ELECTIONS, REFERENDUM AND LEONE CASE ILLUSTRATED TO GOLFARI THE DIFFERENCE WITHIN PCI BETWEEN TRADITIONAL ROMANTIC MARXISTS AND MODERN PRAGMATISTS. SINCE PCI ELECTORAL LOSSES HAD BEEN TO CENTER AND NOT TO LEFT, RATIONAL CONCLUSION SHOULD BE THAT MODERATE APPROACH BEST MEANS TO GAIN POPULAR SUPPORT. THIS HAD BEEN AND WAS BERLINGUER THESIS, ACCORDING TO GOLFARI. HOWEVER, TRADITIONAL ROMANTICS BELIEVE THAT PCI MUST BE LEFT BECAUSE LEFT IS BEAUTIFUL, GOOD AND VIRTUOUS. THEREFORE, THEIR REACTION TO EVERY SET BACK IS TO CALL FOR A RETURN TO FUNDAMENTALS, TO THE OLD TIME MARXISM. PAJETTA SEEMS TO BE THE SPOKESMAN FOR THIS TENDENCY. GOLFARI SAID THAT HIS APPROACH WAS TO ENCOURAGE THE PRAGMATISTS AND THAT WAS A CENTRAL MOTIVE FOR HIS POLICY IN THE LOMBARDY REGION. HE THOUGHT THAT HIS APPROACH WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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PROVING SUCCESSFUL.

5. GOLFARI DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE REFERENDA RESULTS HAD BEEN DECISIVE IN THE PCI DECISION TO DROP LEONE. INDIRECTLY, THE RESULTS MIGHT HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE THEY ENCOURAGED THE PSI TO PRESS ITS INDEPENDENCE LINE. BUT THEY DID NOT DIRECTLY LEAD TO PCI DECISION.

6. AMONG THE POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT, GOLFARI THOUGHT ONLY ZACCAGNINI OR FANFANI HAD A CHANCE. PERSONALLY, HE WAS INDIFFERENT AS LONG AS IT WAS A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT. THE PSI OPPOSED ZACCAGNINI SINCE IT CONSIDERED HIM TOO CLOSE TO THE PCI BUT IT WOULD ACCEPT FANFANI FOR THE OPPOSITE REASON. HOWEVER, THE PCI WOULD NOT SWALLOW FANFANI. COULD THE DC IGNORE THE PSI AND CHOSE A MAN DESPITE PSI OPPOSITION? WITH DIFFICULTY, SAID GOLFARI, SINCE THAT WOULD IMPLY A DC-PCI COALITION THAT THE DC WANTED TO AVOID.

7. CRAXI, SAID GOLFARI, WAS RIDING HIGH AND ATTEMPTING TO WHEEL AND DEAL. SINCE THE DC DID WANT TO RETURN TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE PSI, ITS GYRATIONS HAD TO BE SWALLOWED HOWEVER AWKWARD. CRAXI WAS WRONG IN CONSIDERING ZACCAGNINI TO BE

PRO-PCI. HE WAS NOT. BUT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE PCI
HAD VERY BIG BATTALIONS THAT HAD TO BE RESPECTED IN THE REAL
POLITICAL WORLD.

8. LOCALLY, THE PCI WAS BECOMING MORE EXIGENT WITH REGARD
TO THE REGIONS PROGRAMS. IT WANTED PERFORMANCE OF AGREED
PROGRAMS AND GOLFARI SAID HE COULD NOT FAULT THEM FOR THAT.
THE PCI APPEARED NO LONGER WILLING TO RESOLVE DOUBTS ON
SUBSTANCE IN FAVOR OF THE DC JUST TO KEEP GOOD RELATIONS.

9. GOLFARI HOPED THAT NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS WOULD NOT
SOON BE HELD. HE WANTED TO SEE THROUGH HIS LOMBARDY EXPERIMENT
TO FIND OUT WHETHER INVOLVING THE PCI IN RESPONSIBILITY REDUCED
ITS ELECTORAL APPEAL AS HE BELIEVED. BUT IF THERE WERE NEW
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NATIONAL ELECTIONS HE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO RUN FOR SENATOR
OR DEPUTY AND START A NEW CAREER AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL IN ROME.
HE WASN'T KEEN ON STARTING OVER AT THE BOTTOM OF THE LADDER BUT HE
DIDN'T APPEAR PHASED BY THE PROSPECT EITHER.FINA

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SITUATION, PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MILAN00990
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1 JUNE 21, 1988
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780266-0711
Format: TEL
From: MILAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780616/aaaaanvp.tel
Line Count: 140
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 461d667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2195345
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GOLFARI ON POST-LEONE SITUATION
TAGS: PINT, IT, (LEONE, GIOVANNI)
To: ROME
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/461d667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014